

THE
SPEECH

OF HIS
HIGHNESSE

THE
LORD PROTECTOR

TO THE
PARLIAMENT

IN

The Painted Chamber at Westminster, on
Munday last, being the fourth of this instant
September, 1654.

Examined by the Original Copy ; Published
by Order and Authority.

London, Printed for G. FREEMAN, 1654.

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1634



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An excellent Speech of His Highness the Lord Protector, delivered to the Parliament on Monday last in the Painted Chamber.

 N Munday last about 9 of the clock in the forenoon, his Highness the Lord Protector rode in his Coach to the Abbey Church in very stately equipage; the Gentlemen of his Highness going bare before, richly habited, and next before the Coach the Pages and Laqueys, (in their several Liveries, most admirable to behold) on the one side of the Coach was Mr. Strickland, one of his Highness Council, & Captain of his Guard of Foot; on the other side, Mr. Howard Capt. of the Lifeguard of Horse, both of them bare, went on foot. In the Coach with his Highness was the Lord Henry, his son, Maj. Gen. Lambert, and the Lord President Lawrence, both still bare, the Maj. Gen. in the end of the Coach against his Highness, & the Lord P. resident in the right boot. After his Highness Coach rid Mr. Claypool, Master of the Horse, and with him his Highness's led Horse, very rich, the cloth of covering costing 500 l. Next came the Lord Commissioners of the Seal, and Col. Sydenham, and Col. Montague, Commissioners of the Exchequer. Then the Gentlemen of his Highness Foot Guard, and the Wardens of the Tower, all in his Highness's Livery, went along about his Highness's Coach. His Highness alighting at the Abbey door, the Officers of the Army, and the Gentlemen went first in, after them 4 Maces, next them the Lord Commissioners of the Seal, the L. Whitlock carrying the purse. After them, the L. Lambert, carrying the Sword, bare, before his Highness. The rest followed, and his Highness was seated over against the Pulpit. After the Sermon was done (which was preached by Mr. Th. Goodwin) his Highness went on foot, in the same equipage, to the Painted Chamber, there being a very rich Chair wrought and framed with Gold, upon a place up two steps, like a Throne, with a Table before it and seats for the members, and his Highness standing by with his head bare, deliver'd his mind very excellently at large to the Parliament. The substance whereof was as followeth.

THAT the Parliament then met, was such a Congregation as England never saw, having on their shoulders the interest of three great Nations, with the Territories thereto belonging; Yea, that they had upon their shoulders the interest of all the Christian people in the world. O and thus, and thus he

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He promised in what he should say, plainness and truth; taking notice, That after so many changes and turnings as this Nation hath laboured under, to have such a day of hope, and such a door of hope opened as this, was some months since above all our thoughts. That it might have been a matter worthy such a meeting, to have remembered them what occasioned the rise and first beginning of all the tossings that have been upon these Nations, and to have given a series not of the transactions of men, but of the providences of God all along to these Times, and the grounds of the first undertaking to oppose that Usurpation and Tyrannie which was upon Us in our Civils and Spirituall: but some Reasons diverted him from that; As,

1. To have proceeded after that manner would have taken up the whole day; for Gods dispensations have been such, that, as David says in another case, If I should sit to count them, they are more then can be numbr'd.

2. Because the recapitulation of his providences had been largely and wisely held forth in the Sermon that day, in an allusion to the state of, and dispensations toward the Israelites (the onely parallel to Gods dealing with us, that he knew in the world). in bringing them out of Egypt through a wilderness, towards their place of rest.

3. Because the end of that meeting was healing, and the remembring of former transactions particularly might set the wounds fresh a bleeding; and if this day proves not a day of healing what shall we do? but if it be the mind of God (which alone must make it healing) to put it into their hearts, then it would be such a day as Generations to come would blesse them for it.

That it was necessary rather to let them know in what condition these Nations were when this Government was created, what were the breaches in our Civils and Spirituall, when every mans hand (at least his heart) was against another, little appeared tending to cementing.

All Gods dispensations, neither his terrible ones, when He met us in a way of judgment in a ten years civil war, and a sharp one, nor his merciful dispensations did work upon us. That we had our Humors and Interests, and (as He feared) our Humors were more then our Interests; our passions more then our judgements. Was not every thing almost grown arbitrary? What face was upon our affairs as to the interest and authority of the Magistrate, or to the rights & orders of men, whereby distinctions have been made for hundreds of years of a Nobleman, a Gentleman, a Yeoman; it being a good interest of the Nation, and a great one? Every mans hand was upon his loins, and said, We see nothing that bears sway or rule.

And that spirit that brought under that contempt, though it may be comprehended in a very short expression of Men of levelling Principles, yet the thing had a vast extension, tending to reduce all the orders and ranks of men to an equality to make the Tenant of a liberal a fortune as his Landlord.

His Highness took notice in the next place of the prodigious contempt upon God and Christ, and his Ordinances, a spirit visibly acting those things with

were fore-told by Peter and Jude, and Timothy, as the lot and portion of the last times, and something worse then the Antichristian state; that there should be perillous dayes, and therefore perillous because they should break all Rules, and labour to root out that remainder of the image of God which was left in the nature of fallen man: And this by men that should have a form of godlinesse, denying the power of it. And indeed the character whereby that spirit and principle is described, is so legible and visible, that he that runs may read it: And he wished that it were not to be read or seen, and that the grace of G O D might not be turn'd into wantonnesse, and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak of vile practises.

He observed, That many would not own these things, yet they could tell you, the Magistrat hath nothing to do with matters of Conscience or Religion; That he is to look to the outer man, not to meddle with the inner. And such pretensions he said there were of liberty of the Subject, and of Conscience (two as glorious things, and as much to be contended for, as any gift God hath given us.) That both these were brought in to patronize such evils. Insomuch, that it was affirmed; not to be in the power of the Magistrate so much as to print Bibles, lest it should seem an imposition on the Consciences of men, to receive them from the Magistrate, as true.

And these abominations swelled to that height, that the Ax was laid to the Root of the Ministry, as *Antichristian* and *Babylonish*. And as the extremity was great before, that no man, though well approved, and having a good testimony might preach, if not ordained, so now on the other hand, they would have Ordination put a nullity upon the Calling. He took notice of another evil that had more refin'dnesse in it, more colour for it; and had deceived more people of integrity then the former; for few were catcht with the former mistakes, but such as apostatized from their holy profession, such as having been corrupted in their Consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to noysome opinions. But there was another thing that deceived many well-meaning people, whose hearts are sincere, and such (as he was perswaded) belong to God, and that is the

Fifth Monarchie,

Mens pretending to more spirituality then any other. It is a Notion, which (as he hoped) we all honour and wait for; That *Jesus Christ* will have his time to set up his reign in our hearts; and to subdue that corruption and lust which reigns more in the world now than ever; and he hoped in due time, it shall be; But for men to entitle themselves to be the onely men to govern Nations, and rule Kingdoms, and give Laws to the world; to determine of property and liberty, and every thing else, needs a great manifestation of Gods presence before wise men will submit to it.

Many of those he conceived in his very soul had good meanings, and he hoped this Parliament would (as Jude says) reckoning up the abominable Apostacies of the last times) pluck some out of the fire, and save others with fear, making those of peaceable Spirits the subject of their encouragement, and saving others by that discipline that God hath ordained to reform misdeamors. The danger of that Spirit being not in the notion, but in its proceeding to a civil reformation. When men shall come into such a practice; as to tell us, That liberty and property are not the badges of that Kingdom; and that in stead of regulating Laws, Laws must be subjected, and perhaps the Judicial Law imposed, or some fancy in stead of it (for that was good and honourable in the Institution, though now by some misapplied) specially when every stone is laid to bring in Confusion. This will be a consideration worthy of the Magistrate.

His Highness proceeded to shew, That while these things were in the midst of us, and the Nation rent and torn from one end to another; Family against Family, Parent against Child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men; but Overgrown, overgrown, a Scripture very much abused, and challenged by all men of disordered Spirits, The common enemy in the mean time sleepers; swarms of Jesuits carrying over, having their Consistories abroad to rule all the affairs of England, and the dependancies thereof. In the mean time visible endeavors are made, under the work in Ireland, to obstruct the work in Scotland; Correspondences and Intelligencies are held to encourage & foment the war in these places. As if we were deeply engaged in a war with Portugal, whereby our Trade is hurt; and not only so, but a war with Holland, which consumed our Treasure as much as the Assessment came to.

At the same time we fell into a war with France, or rather we were in it, and all this fomented by the divisions amongst us, which begat a confidence we could not hold out long; and the calculation had not been ill, if the Lord had not been gracious to us. Bred, Strangers increased in the Manufacture, the staple commodity of this Nation. In such a heap of confusion was this poor Nation, and that it might not sink into a confusion, from these premises a Remedy must be applied.

A Remedy hath been applyed: This Government a thing that is seen, and read of all; and which, let men say what they will (he could speak with comfort before a Greater then thy self, or to his own intention, and let men judge out of the thing it self) is calculated for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. He added, That he might with humbleness towards God, and modesty before them, say something in behalf of it.

He hath endavoured to reform the Laws, and for that end hath joyned persons (without reflection upon any) of as great ability and integrity as any other, to consider how the laws might be made plain, short, and easy; which may in due time be tendered.

It hath likewise to put into seats of Justice, men of the most known integrity and

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my. The Chancery hath been reformed, and (I hope) to the just satisfaction of all good men. It hath put a stop to that heady way, for every man that will, to make himself a Lawyer, having endeavoured to settle a way for application of men of piety, and singleness of the Soul, and the business committed to trusty persons both of the Presbyterian and Independent Judgment, men of a known ability and integrity, as (we suppose) any true Nation hath, and (we believe) have laboured to approve themselves to God and their own Consciences, in approving men to that great Function.

It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work; who have been the common scorn and reproach of that Administration: One thing more, It hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament, blessed be God we see here this day a free Parliament; and that it may continue so, he hopes is in the heart of every good man of England; and he added, That for his own part, as he had desired it above his life, so to keep it free, he should value it above his life.

Having thus instanced in the wars wherein we were plunged, and the little assistance from Neighbours abroad, he proceeded to shew that a Peace is made with Sweden (wherein an honourable person was instrumental) It being of much importance to have a good understanding with our Protestant Neighbours; A peace is also made with the Dane, and a peace there that is honourable; and to the satisfaction of the Merchants.

The Sound is open to us, from whence as from a Fountain, our Naval provisions are supplied.

That a peace is made with the Dutch (which is so well known in the consequence of it).

He set forth the advantage of a good Understanding with Protestant States. And he begged, That it might be in the Parliaments hearts to be zealous of the Protestant Interest abroad, which if ever it be like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now, many of them being banished, and driven to seek refuge among strangers. That a peace is made with Portugal (though it is a long) of great concernment to Trade; and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their Consciences, without being subjected to the bloody Inquisition. And that a Treaty with France is now depending.

His Highness then further declared, That it might be necessary for them to hear a little of the Sea affairs, & took notice of the great expence of the forces and fleet, and yet 30000 L is now abated of the next three months assessment. And having spoken about an hour and half, his Highness drew to a conclusion, presenting them with this Observation, That the things before-mentioned are but entrances and doors of hope; That they are brought to the edge of Canaan (into which many that have gone before could not enter) That if the blessing and presence of God go along with them in management of their Affaires, He makes no question but he will enable them to lay the top-stone of this Work. He then remembered them, that they have a great work upon them; Ireland to look to; that the beginnings of that Government may be settled in terms of honour.

...that they had before them the consideration of those foretold. But as
no peace is not made with, who if they shall see we manage not our Affairs
with prudence as become men, will retain hopes that we may find upon
disadvantage thereof, and break into confusion. He perswaded them to be
sweet, gracious, and holy understanding one of another, and put them in mind
of the counsel heard that day in order thereunto. And desired them for a con-
clusion, to believe that He spake not to them as one that would be a Lord over
them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them, to the in-
terest of this great Affair; and so wished them to repair to their House, and ex-
ercise their own liberty in the choice of their Speaker. His Highness having
done, the Members went to their House, and having chose Mr. Lenthall Speaker,
they ordered a Fast to be kept by them, and in London, and parts adjacent on
the 13 of this instant Septemb. In all other parts of England, Scotland, & Wales, on
the 4 of Octob. And in Ireland the 1 of Novemb. to seek to God for direction and
counsel, and to pray for a blessing upon their endeavors.

After which, his Highness retired into the place, formerly called the House of Lords
and so took Barge, and went down to White-Hall by water.

The End
